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The Editor must start, rather than end, with corrigenda, those omitted both from the October and the November issue, and affecting Spatale in the article by Mr Greenwood at pp.107-8 of the July number. In the Latin couplet she lost her Greek ending for a Latin, and appeared as *Spatalem* not *SpataLEN*, and in the quotation from Friedlaender as *Statale* not *Spatale* (and incidentally *viel* appeared as *fiel*), the Editor does not know for what Freudian reasons. He very rarely comments on what he prints, but in re-reading Mr Greenwood's article in order to make the corrections, it did occur to him that Housman supposed that Friedlaender thought that Spatale was charged for three simply because she was so large, and did not appreciate who were the three, viz. Spatale and her two breasts. In this supposition, as Mr Greenwood says, he was probably mistaken, and it is perhaps unnecessary for this Editor 'to spell things out' for the sophisticated readers of *LCM*.

A recent enquiry from a publisher for some information about *LCM* 'to assist me in drawing up review lists' prompted the Editor to make a detailed analysis of subscriptions, appropriately at the end of the 15th year of publication, since readers seemed interested in the monthly figures that he used to provide. It would, however, be tedious and perhaps invidious to publish this detailed analysis, and he follows his own precedent established in 'Five years of *LCM*' in January 1981. The figure for personal subscriptions in UK remains almost constant at 135 (133 in 1976) with 33 Departmental, Library or Agency. That for Europe is 26 personal against 77 (including here exchanges, of which he will one day publish a list, and be able to provide, for a fee, copies of articles for individual use by scholars), that for the rest of the world, 70 against 90, a total subscription list (excluding copyright copies) of 431. The magic figure of 450 seems still elusive.

Again as in 1981 he lists, in alphabetical order, the countries to which *LCM* goes, again separating Europe from the rest of the world: Austria, Belgium, France, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland; Australia, Canada, Chile, Israel, Japan, New Zealand, South Africa and USA. But there is still no map with little flags in the *LCM* office.

The Editor's remarks last month were indeed intemperate, to the extent that he attributed to Professor Woodman a view the opposite of that which he holds, and which a closer reading of his article in *CUCD* would have revealed. In fact Professor Woodman and he agree in their disapproval of 'anti-American chauvinism', and the Editor's remarks about the abuse of hospitality by a guest totally misrepresented Professor Woodman's position, and for this he offers unreserved apologies. He is also assured by the author of the fable, whose anonymity he respects, that he has taken too seriously what was intended humorously, and extends apologies to him also. In the days of 'Careless Talk' he recalls posters which exhorted him to 'Ensure that brain is engaged before operating tongue' and nearly 50 years on he still needs to heed that injunction.

Last month he had intended also to emphasise another distinction not unrelated either to that between what it is perhaps invidious to call scholarship and popularisation, or to that between some American (and continental) and some British work; a contrast between 'traditional' scholarship, based on the detailed study of the texts in the original language, and that which makes full use of modern techniques of literary and sociological criticism, relates the culture of the ancient world to the urgent concerns of today and to those whose acquaintance with its literature is through translation, and is prepared to judge it rather than simply to understand it or admire it. Professor Woodman in fact makes much the same point.

Proponents of both approaches tend to be exclusive, and to see the other as hostile and threatening (or entrenched and to be overthrown). But the hospitable pages of *LCM* are, and always have been, open to both, and the irenic and eclectic temperament of the Editor suggests that both are necessary, the latter to provide new ideas and new life, the former to ensure that neither is based on distortion or misunderstanding of the Classics. He was going to add that the study of ancient history seems unaffected by this division, until he recalled the work to his article in which John Henderson published an illustrated addendum in the October number of *LCM*, Averil Cameron (ed.) *History as Text. The Writing of Ancient History*, London, Duckworth, 1989, of which, however, the blurb on the wrapper notes that "The fashion for 'deconstruction' which has attacked the foundations of other academic disciplines, notably anthropology and literary criticism, has hardly yet made much of an impression on ancient history."

In it M.J.Wheeldon prefaces his chapter on "True Stories": the reception of historiography in antiquity" (pp.33-63) with a quotation from Robert Scholes, 'Language, narrative and anti-narrative', in W.J.T. Mitchell, ed., *On Narrative* (Chicago, 1981), 207, which defines history as 'a narrative discourse with different rules than those that govern fiction' (the pedantic Editor would have written 'from'), which reminded him of his own undergraduate definition, 'a form of imaginative protreptic writing lacking the stigmata attaching to fiction', aware as he then was that historians, modern as well as those of early and perhaps of imperial Rome, use their work to recommend contemporary attitudes and policies.

The Editor is also asked to bring to the attention of readers, especially those outside Britain, that Darwin College Cambridge invites applications (6 copies of a cv, 1000 words on the proposed research, names & addresses of two referees, a list of published and unpublished work) for the Mary and Moses Finley Research Fellowship, in Ancient History, for which the closing date is 31 Jan 1991. He suggests that those interested write at once to the Master, Professor Geoffrey Lloyd FBA, Darwin College, Cambridge, CB3 9EU, for fuller particulars.

LCM only manages ten reviews a year, though it receives a good many more books, policy being that reviews should be long and serious: the last two paragraphs suggest that it really is time that he revived 'The Editor's book notes', and perhaps he will in the New Year.

For which he and the other Editor wish readers and subscribers all good fortune in what is a difficult time for Universities and for Classics, and appends the traditional journalistic formula

A HAPPY CHRISTMAS
TO ALL OUR READERS



G. B. A. Fletcher (Gosforth): *On passages in Ovid's Heroides* LCM 15.10 (Dec. 1990), 147-148

- 1.96 *Ultimus . . . pudor*. Cf. Ov. M.187 *hunc . . . pudorem*, Petr. 13.9 *omnium hominum deorumque pudorem*.
- 1.105 *inutilis annis*. Cf. Virg. G.3.95 *segnior annis*, Ov. T. 4.8.21 *miles . . . emeritis non est satis utilis annis*.
- 2.12 *procellosios . . . Notos*. Cf. Ov. A.2.6.44 *procelloso . . . Noto*, Livy 28.6.10 *uenti . . . procellosi*.
- 2.93 *collo . . . infusus amantis* Cf. Ov. M.11.386 *collo . . . infusa mariti*, Virg. A.8.406 *coniugis infusus gremio*, Sen. *Med.*946-7 *infusos mihi coniungite artus*, Stat. T. 9.877 *puer infusus sociis*.
- 2.130 *linquor*. Palmer quotes Suet. *Iul.*45.1 *animo linqui*. *animo linqui* is earlier than there in Sen. *Ep.*57.5, D.3.2.1, Curt.4.6.20 and 9.5.28, but I do not remember the verb so used elsewhere without *animo*. Schuckburgh incredibly quotes Tacitus *Annals* 3.46.3 *quasi exanimis linquebantur*, which means 'were left as if dead'.
- 2.143 *tenerum . . . pudorem*. Cf. Mart. 11.45.7 *teneri . . . pudoris*.
- 3.99 *nec me pro coniuge gessi*. Cf. Cic. *Arch.*11 *se . . . gessisse pro ciue*, Livy 32.2.6 *pro colonis se gerere*, Curt. 4.16.28 *pro uictore se gessit*.
- 4.9 *qua licet et sequitur, pudor est miscendus amori*. Cf. Virg. G.2.52 *in quascumque uoles artis haud tarda sequentur*, A.6.146 *ipse uolens facilis sequetur*, Cic. *Orat.* 165 *non quaesitum esse numerum sed secutum*.
- 4.63 *placet domus una duabus*. Loers quotes Sen. *Phaedra* 665 *domus . . . una corripuit duas* and with 72 he compares Sen. *Phaedra* 652 *ora flauus tenera tinguebat pudor*, but with 77 *tuus iste rigor* he does not compare Sen. *Phaedra* 659 *in ore . . . Scythicus appetet rigor*.
- 4.82 *ferox . . . lacertus*. Cf. Sen. *H.O.* 373 *tenerum feroci stamen intorquens manu*
- 4.167 *Venerem . . . quae plurima mecum est*. Cf. Stat. T. 1.350 *plurimus Auster*
- 5.7 *leniter . . . ferendum*. Cf. Cic. *Fam.*5.18.2, Q. fr. 3.7.1, *Cael.*54, *Re P.* 3.47.
- 5.37-8 *gelidusque cucurrit | . . . per ossa tremor*. Cf. Virg. A.2.120-1 *gelidus . . . per ima cucurrit | ossa tremor*, 6.54-5 *gelidus Teucris per dura cucurrit | ossas tremor*, 12.447-8 *gelidus . . . per ima cucurrit | ossa tremor*.
- 5.55 *prosequor infelix oculis abeuntia uela*. Palmer mentions Ruhnken's quotation of Quint. *Decl.* 12.6 *fugientia uela uisu prosecuti* but does not add Stat. T. 5.481-3 *illos . . . prosecuimur uisu*.
- 5.73 *Iden*. Palmer says that this is the only passage where Ovid uses the accusative of *Ida* or *Ide*. Cf. F. 4.249 *Iden*.
- 6.36 *implesse aetatis fata diurna suae*. Palmer says that *diurnus* means only 'daily' or "like that of a day" in good Latin. It means 'for a single day', as here, in Cic. *Tusc.* 3.65 *luctum lacrimis finire diurnis* and Sen. *N.Q.* 6.26.1 *quantum nauis diurno cursu metiri . . . potest*.
- 6.67 *caerula propulsae subducitur unda carinae*. Cf., Virg. A.3.565 *subducta ad Manis imos descendimus unda*.
- 8.13 *parcius Andromachen uexauit Achaia uictrix*. Palmer quotes Prop. 2.23.34 *parcius infamant* and Hor. *Carm.* 1.25.1 *parcius iuxtas quatunt fenestras*. Cf. Virg. E. 3.7 *parcius ista uiris tamen obicienda memento*, Cic. *Flacc.*32 *num potuit parcius*, Sen. *Phaedra* 795 *uexent hanc faciem frigora parcius*.
- 8.26 *aspera pro caro bella tulisse toro*. For *toro* referring to a person cf. [Tib.] 3.16.6 *n e cadam ignoto maxima causa toro*, Val. *Fl.* 5.444 *regali . . . toro laetus gener*, Plin. *N.H.* 35.87.
- 8.46 *hic pars militiae*. Palmer quotes Justin. 32.2.2 *cum omni militia interficitur*. Cf. Prop. 1.21.4 *pars ego sum uestrae proximus militiae*, Livy 4.26.3 *uis cogendae militiae*.
- 8.66 *rapina*. Cf. Prop. 2.2.10.
- 8.102 *is quoque, ni pro se pugnat, ademptus erit*. For the present tense cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.7.117-8 *ocius hinc te | ni rapis, secedes opera agro nona Sabino*.
- 9.40 *arcana nocte* Cf. Stat. *Silu.* 1.3.71 *nocte sub arcana*, T. 10.365.
- 9.88 *incubet*. Cf. Plaut. *Cas.*110 *ruri incubabo*.

- 9.94 *angue*. For the collective noun Palmer quotes Prop. 3.5.40. Cf. Ov. *P.* 3.1.124, Stat. *T.* 7.466.
- 9.135 *frigus . . . perambulat artus*. Schuckburgh quotes Sen. *H.O.* 706 *uagus per artus errat excussus tremor*. Friedländer quotes Ovid on Martial 9.38.7 *securos pueri neglecta perambulat artus*.
- 10.28 *aequora prospectus metior alta meo*. Cf. Livy 6.13.1 *oculos utramque metiens aciem*. For *prospectu* meaning the act or faculty of seeing cf. Apul. *M.* 4.12.7 and 9.42.4.
- 10.30 *praecipiti . . . Noto*. Palmer quotes Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.12 *praecipitem Africum* and Ovid *M.* 11.481 *praeceps . . . Euris* but not Virg. *A.* 7.411 *praecipiti . . . Noto* or *G.* 4.29 *praeceps . . . Euris*.
- 10.104 *fila per adductas saepe recepta manus*. Cf. Virg. *A.* 5.141 *adductis spumant freta uersa lacertis*, 9.402 and 11.561 *adducto . . . lacerto*, Ov. *M.* 8.228 *adductis . . . lacertis*.
- 10.114 *flamina . . . in lacrimas officiosa meas*, 18.60 *luna . . . ut comes in nostras officiosa uias*. Cf., for example, Cic. *Fam.* 13.60.1 *officiosior me facit in illum*, *B.Alex.* 70.3 *in se officiosi*.
- 11.113 *nate, dolor matris*. Cf. Mart. 7.96.1 *Bassi dolor, Urbicus infans*.
- 12.36 *abstuleruant oculi lumina nostra tui*. Cf. Stat. *T.* 6.669 *abstulit in se oculos*.
- 12.63 *disiecta . . . comas*. Cf. Sen. *D.* 10.12.3, Sil. 2.558.
- 13.77 *uiuere pugna*. Cf. *Lucr.* 2.205 *deducere pugnant*.
- 13.98 *fatigatas . . . aquas*. Cf. Virg. *A.* 9.605 *siluas . . . fatigant*, 10.302-4 *puppis . . . fluctus fatigat*.
- 14.8 *immunes caedis*. Cf. Virg. *A.* 12.559 *immunem tanti belli*.
- 14.96 *leuas . . . famem*. Cf. Ov. *H.* 4.174 *leuet . . . sitim*, Mart. 11.96.4 *leuare sitim*.
- 14.109 *quorum mihi cana senectus | auctor*. *Luc.* 2.232-3 *maesta senectus | . . . flebat*.
- 15.57 *tu . . . quae montes celebras, Erycina, Sicanos*. Palmer says of *celebras* 'a very suspicious use of the word'. He does not give a reason for saying so. Cf. Ov. *A.* 2.16.37 *non ego Paelignos uideor celebrare salubres* and *T.* 64.8.9 *paruam celebrare domum*.
- 15.70 *accumulat curas filia parua meas*. Cf. Albiovanus Pedo 8 *accumulat fragor ipse metus*, Stat. *T.* 4.369 *accumulat5 crebros turbatrix Fama pauores*, Sil. 4.498-9 *accumulat clades subito conspecta per undas | uis elephantorum turrito concita dorso*.
- 15.97 *oculi rorantur*. Cf. *Lucr.* 3.469 *rorantur ora*, Hor. *A.* P.430 *ex oculis rorem*.
- 15.109 *fugiunt tua gaudia*. Purser in Palmer's edition, where Palmer says that the expression *tua gaudia* may be later than Ovid, compares Prop. 1.19.9 *cupias falsis attingere gaudia palmos* but not Virg. *A.* 10.325 *dum sequeris Clytium infelix, noua gaudia, Cydon*.
- 16.38 *nuntia fama*. Cf. Virg. *A.* 9.474.
- 16.57 *Dardaniae muros*. Palmer says that *Dardaniae* without *urbis* for Troy has given offence. He quotes Virg. *A.* 3.156 *Dardania incensa*. Cf. also *A.* 2.325, 6.65, Sil. 1.43.
- 16.135 *praecordia . . . intima*. Cf. Virg. *A.* 7.347.
- 16.237 *luctor celare*. Cf. 17.161, Virg. *A.* 12.387-8.
- 17.2 *rescribendi gloria*. Cf. Virg. *G.* 4.205 *generandi gloria mellis*.
- 17.48 *crimen obumbret*. Cf. Virg. *A.* 11.223.
- 17.117 *belli . . . laudem*. Cf. *Livy* 21.46.8.
- 17.142 *spem . . . sequi*. Cf. *Livy* 24.6.5.
- 18.10 *e portu nauita mouit iter*. Cf. *Luc.* 1.418 *quaecumque moues tam crebros causa meatus*, Stat. *Silu.* 1.6.9 *Aurora nouos mouebat ortus*.
- 18.163 *preium non uile laboris*. In 1892 Birt in his edition of Claudian quoted this phrase from Ovid at *De Nuptiis Honorii Augusti* 142. In 1898 Palmer called it 'a hitherto unnoticed reminiscence'.
- 18.169 *adhuc tellure morare*. For *adhuc* with future reference cf. *Luc.* 7.213 where Dilke's note needs modification.
- 18.210 *piger ad*. Cf. *Cael. Fam.* 8.1.1, *Livy* 39.13.11.
- 21.41 *certus . . . Boreas*. Ruhnken quotes *Luc.* 6.415 *flatuis incumbere certos*. Cf. Ov. *T.* 3.12.42 *certo . . . Notos, B.Afr.* 2.5 *uento certo*, *Plin. N.H.* 18.352 *uentos . . . certos*.

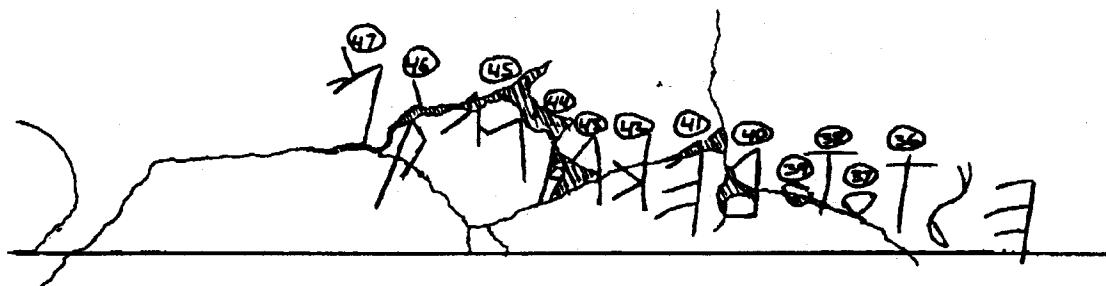
I wish to thank Dr Judith Binder, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for having read an earlier version of this note and for having suggested improvements in my English.



The literature on this inscription, which is probably the oldest one in Greek letters, is enormous, and B.B. Powell's¹ catalogue of all the publications concerning restoration of the end of the text is therefore most welcome. His own suggestion(p.75, cf. p.86): to read 'an inept snippet of an abecedarium' contains, I think, one of the most convincing approaches towards the solution of the problem, but apart from that I feel that a restoration with a 'normal' Greek word, which for 'alphabetical reasons' could have been difficult to spell correctly, would be more conclusive, especially if it could suit the context and has a roughly contemporary parallel. I therefore suggest the following reading of the entire text:

δσ νν δρχηστῶν πάντων δταλώτατα παίζει / τοῦ τόδε καμομένου.

As will be seen from the copy offered by Powell (p.68) the problems of reading start after character 42, and I agree with C.Gallavotti² that the characters 43-44 should be read as alpha-mu, but what follows I would explain as an unsuccessful attempt at spelling the verbal form *καμομένου* with the first omikron clumsily written in the gap at the top of Powell's character 45



with the upper curve following the scratch.³ Originally the inscriber could have been writing the present participle, because he automatically continued the alphabetical order *κα-μνο-μένου* and was not aware that an aorist participle was needed in which the nu is not written. Then he has tried to make a correction and thus caused the general confusion of strokes around character 45. But he should be forgiven, I think, as in these years of the childhood of the Greek alphabet such errors should be assumed to occur easily.

Now, I wish to translate the text as follows:

'Whoever of all the dancers now disports most friskily, this (the jug) is his [up to this point I follow the translation offered by Powell (p.71)] who has won it by toil.'⁴

Cf. Hom. Il. 18.341, *τὰς (γυναῖκας) αὐτοὶ καμόμεσθα βίηφί τε δουρί τε μακρῷ*.

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¹ 'The Dipylon Oinochoe and the Spread of Literacy in Eight-Century Athens', *Kadmos* 27 (1988), 70; 83-86.

² *Rend. Linc. Aer.* 8, 31 (1976), 209.

³ As will be seen from Powell's copy there are other examples of awkward omikra, e.g. characters 37 and 39.

⁴ Cf. LSJ s.v. *κάμνω* 2, where a translation of the passage is offered.

L. Holford-Strevens (Oxford): *Falsa Gelliana**LCM* 15.10 (Dec. 1990), 150-151

At *LCM* 9.10 (Dec. 1984), 151 and 10.1 (Jan. 1985), 16 I noted bogus quotations from Gellius in John of Salisbury (*Policraticus* 2.23., i.132-3 Webb), Gerald of Wales (letter in *Speculum duorum*, p.202, 11.212-3 Lefèvre-Huygens), and Peter the Chanter (*Verbum abbreviatum* 53, *PL* ccv.164); this last may indicate use of the Valerio-Gellian florilegium, which includes the apparent source *Val. Max. 7.2 ext.14* (so my *Aulus Gellius* [London 1988], p.22 n.17). These do not exhaust the medieval *spuria*.

William of Malmesbury (d. 1143?) in his *Polyhistor*, having related the tale of the Stoic in the storm not from *NA* 19.1 but from Augustine *CD* 9.4, continues: 'Hec Augustinus. Nunc audi Agellium'; yet his extracts from the ϕ florilegium are preceded by two items of which the text is edited as follows, from two 14th century copies, by Helen Testroet Ouellette (Binghamton NY 1982), p.62, 11.12-20:

Inter mundi mirabilia est Neapoli olla uitrea ingens, digitalis grossitudinis os habens, in qua domus erea continetur cuius ostiolum apertum est et nidus in medio domus ouumque anserino grossius in medio nidi, quod si tangi posset per angustias ostioli ingredi non posset. Querat ergo qui potest quo modo intrauerit.

In ultima Britannia quam Arthurus obtinuit precipua ferri materia est, sed aqua ferro uiolentior, quippe temperamento eius ferrum acrius redditur, nec ullum apud eos ferrum probatur, quod non fluuio calibi tingatur, unde etiam finitum gladium eiusdem Arthuri Caliburh dicunt.

For the former tale its own last sentence shall suffice; the latter is adapted from Justin 44.3.8:

praecipua his quidem [sc. Gallaecis] ferri materia, sed aqua ferro uiolentior, quippe temperamento eius ferrum acrius redditur, nec ullum apud eos telum probatur, quod non aut Birbili fluuio aut Chalybe tinguatur, unde etiam Chalybes fluuii huius finitimi appellati ferroque ceteris praestare dicuntur.

The resemblance is all the closer when one observes that Ouellette's MS H (British Library Harleian 3969, fo.4^r) reads not *finitum* but *finitimi* (albeit between the corruptions *et* and *gladio*); for what it is worth, it also reads *tinguatur*, to which Ouellette prefers the *tingatur* of C (Cambridge, St John's College, MS D. 22[97], in general the inferior manuscript).

In turn William's account reappears, some fifty years after his death, in MS B of Radulphus de Diceto's *Abbreviationes chronicorum* (British Library Cotton Claudius E.3, fo.22^{rb}marg.) s.a. 516, the date to which corresponds, in the *Annales Cambriae*, the year assigned to Arthur's victory at 'Badon'; this text too has Justin's and H's *finitimi*, but otherwise agrees with Ouellette's word for word (bating the orthographica *Arthur* [so C] *optinuit*, *tinguatur*, *Caliburh*) except that, like Justin, it reads *telum* (*probatur*) for *ferrum* H, *cesum* C; we need not doubt that William too gave *telum*, C exhibiting a corruption and H an interpolation from the preceding clause. In MS A of Diceto (Lambeth MS 8) a revised and somewhat shorter version of this matter is split between 542 and 547, straddling the account of Arthur's last battle (542 Diceto A < Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae* 11.2; 543 Diceto B; 537 *Annales Cambriae*). For the text see Stubbs's edition (Rolls Society, 2 vols., London 1876), i. 96 (in n.2 *et* in the B text is a slip for *etiam*, 7); for A and B and the relation between them see *ibid.*, pp.lxxxviii-xci, xciii-xvi.

About the mid 14th century the Franciscan John Lathbury, in ch.104 of his moral commentary on *Lamentations*, expounding the words *dissipauit quasi hortum tentorium suum* (*Lam.2.6*), cited from 'agellius de bellis armeniae ca. xv. rubrica de prima victoria allex.' the purported blazons of seven Persian champions of the Seven Deadly Sins whom Alexander overthrew: see fos. [F5v-6r] in the Oxford edition of 1482, or (from Oxford, Exeter College MS E.27) Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford 1960), pp.349-50, who at pp.242-3 suggests that the work quoted was forged in Gellius' name because of his references to Alexander's conquests, and states, without giving details, that other stories from it are found in collections of *exempla*. It was known, if only by repute, to the 15th-century bibliographer Boston of Bury, who in his *Cathologus de libris autenticis et apocrifis* declared: 'Agellius in Actica regione floruit A.Chr.105 [!] et scripsit libros Noctium atticarum 1 [!]. De bellis armeniae 3.' So at least the 17th-century apograph (Cambridge University Library MS Add.3470) edited by R.A.B.Mynors, who observes that Boston did not follow his preferred practice of quoting the first and last words: *Fritz Saxl, 1890-1948: A Volume of Memorial Essays by his Friends in England* (Edinburgh etc. 1957), p.211.

That the topographer Sir William Gell retailed gossip in 1815-16 about the Princess Caroline over the pen-name 'Gellius (Aulus)', besides 'Adonis' and 'Blue Beard' (*DNB*² vii. 995), betokens no more than a sense of humour; not so when in 1907 the Tipografiya 'Sever' of Sadovaya 60, St Petersberg, published a 93-page tract entitled *Mysli o russkoy revoltsii (Thoughts on the Russian Revolution)*, calling on all progressive parties to unite against Stolypin's government, under the name 'Avl Gelli' (there is a copy in the British Library, shelf-mark X.808/12403). I.F.Masanov's *Slovar' psevdonimov* identifies the author as one V.M.Vladislavlev, citing I.F.Gritsenko and A.V.Merkulov, *Sistematischey ukazatel' russkoy literatury po kooperatsii 1856-1924* (Moscow 1925), which I have not seen.

In 1914 the Casa Editrice d'Arte Bestetti e Tumminelli (Milan and Rome) published the sumptuous catalogue of Giorgio Sangiorgi's *Collezione di vetri antichi dalle origini al V secolo d.C.* (preface by W.Fröhner). An admiring review of this work, headed 'Storia e bellezza degli antichi vetri', appeared in Tomaso Sillani's ultra-nationalist periodical *La rassegna italiana*, anno III, serie I, no.26, vol.V, for 30 June 1920, pp.132-42, over the signature 'Aulus Gellius' (and not, be it noted, *Aulo Gellio*); in the manner of his eponym, the reviewer begins by recounting a personal experience, of a visit to an excavation near Vesuvius.

The same name, again in the Latin form, appears on a brochure put out by the Unione Nazionale Industrie Turistiche Italiani in Italian (*Dalle nevi delle Alpi al fuoco dei vulcani*), French (*De la neige des Alpes au feu des volcans*) and English (*From Alpine Snows to Volcano Fires*); the first and third are dated to 1922 in A.P.Pagliaini, *Catalogo generale della libreria italiana: Terzo supplemento, dal 1921 al 1930*, i (Milan 1932), 604; the second, not noticed there, is recorded without date in the Library of Congress National Union Catalog, cxciv.123. I have seen, in photocopy, a few pages from the English edition: the title-page is undated, but mention is made of an Italian victory in the First World War; the English is fluent but a foreigner's, no doubt a translator's.

Thus far the facts available to me; now for the questions I cannot answer. Whence come William of Malmesbury's Neapolitan bottle and his Arthurian adaptation of Justin, and why are they assigned to Gellius? Who concocted 'Agellius de bellis Armeniae', and what other traces remain? Who was V.M.Vladislavlev and how did he choose his cover-name? Were the reviewer of Sangiorgi's catalogue and the author of the tourist brochure the same, who was he or they, and why did he or they adopt the name 'Aulus Gellius', and why in the Latin form? Readers of this article are cordially invited to contribute answers.

A. W. J. Holleman (Voorburg, Netherlands): *Caligula the Etruscophile: why so?*

LCM 15.10 (Dec. 1990), 152

In *LCM* 15.7 (Jul. 1990), 98-100, Larissa Bonfante drew our attention to the fact that, according to the ancient sources on the emperor Caligula, 'Claudius' nephew shared his uncle's Etruscan interests on a more than superficial level' in an article entitled 'Caligula the Etrusco phile'. Evidently she did not know my notes on the Claudian family as most probably being of Etruscan descent (*CLAUTIE*), presenting the first Claudian at Rome as an Etruscan *lucumo* who had to fly from the Sabine country (Livy 2.16: *Romam transfugit*) in order to find protection with Valerius Publicola, just another Etruscan ruler (*Hist.* 33 [1984], 504-8, 35 [1986], 377-8; *AC* 57 [1988], 298-300; cf. A.J. Pfiffig, *Einf. Etruscol.*², Darmstadt 1984, 52, quoted in *DKP* 5.1108 *sub* Valerius nr.55). This settlement of the Claudians at Rome must have occurred when Rome, after the palace revolution by Brutus, son of Tarquinia (Livy 1.56; his kissing of the earth relates to the cult of the Mother-goddess), *cum suis* (see Pfiffig, *Einf.* 50-56), for some time was an Etruscan republic.

Bonfante rightly mentions Caligula's doings with Minerva 'as an Etruscan divinity' – probably even one of the names of the Mother-goddess (cf. A.J. Pfiffig, *Herakles in der Bilderwelt der etruskischen Spiegel*, Graz 1980, 16 and *passim*; *id.*, *Einf.* 70). In the same framework may be seen the statement by Suetonius, *Cal.* 7, about a son of Germanicus who died 'during early childhood. Livia dedicated a statue of him, dressed as a cupid, to Capitoline Venus' (tr. R. Graves), since this Capitoline Venus was the *Erycina* whose first temple at Rome had been vowed by Q. Fabius Maximus (Cunctator) – a man of Etruscan stock! – and built on the Capitol (see A.W.J. Holleman, 'Q. Fabius' vow to Venus Erycina (217 B.C.) and its Background', in *Stud. Phoen.* 10 [1989], 223-8). Likewise Claudius' own restoration of the sanctuary on Mount Eryx (Suet., *Claud.* 25), such as had already been decided by Tiberius *libens ut consanguineus* (Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.43). The consanguinity here mentioned might well go beyond the obvious allusion to Aeneas as ancestor of the Julian family: Tiberius was, as Suetonius, *Tib.* 3, puts it, 'doubly a Claudian'.

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T. J. Leary (Hampton School, Middlesex): *That's what little girls are made of: the physical charms of elegiac women*

LCM 15.10 (Dec. 1990), 152-155

I was conscious when writing this piece of a long-standing debt to Dr F. M. A. Jones, although I have not consulted him specifically and he cannot be held responsible for any failings it might contain. I must thank Brenda Bell for her comments on my presentation.

The following works are referred to more than once:

Balsdon, J.P.V.D., *Roman Women*, The History Book Club 1966

Blümner, H., *Die römischen Privataltertümer*, Munich 1911

Forbes, R.J., *Studies in Ancient Technology*, Leiden 1956-61, revised 1964-72

Williams, Neville, *Powder and Paint*, London, Longmans, 1957.

Carnal relationships between consenting persons, as were the relationships described by the Latin love elegists, can be safely supposed to have as their basis at least an element of physical attraction. To detail the Roman concept of female beauty therefore seems an exercise of value, especially given that few such studies exist in English.¹

¹ Most notable of these, perhaps, is still Balsdon's treatment of *cultus* in *Roman Women*. In German, one thinks principally of Blümner and Marquadt-Mau (J. Marquadt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, revised A. Mau, Leipzig 1886). Brewer (see n.3) gives references to works dealing with (predominantly) male physiognomy in Antiquity. See also Nisbet/Hubbard at Hor. *Carm.* 2.4.21.

Before embarking on an analysis of individual qualities, however, it seems necessary to give first a general impression. This is easiest done by referring to the universally well known Venus of Botticelli – comparison with a painting from Pompeii² amply justifies reference to a Renaissance work in illustrating ancient values.³

A woman's face and hair occupied most of her time when being dressed and adorned, and it is to these and their care that one first turns, following the Ancient convention (see McKeown at Ovid *Am.* 1.5.19-22) of progressing in physical descriptions from head downwards.

The Ancient woman's hair was her crowning glory: if it was not golden blonde, attempts were made at bleaching, using strong alkalines, most notably the Germanic substance *sapo*.⁴ Unfortunately for many, who went to extremes in desperation, the result was baldness, and there was a thriving trade in wigs – also primarily from Germany.⁵

Hairstyles were numerous (Ovid *Ars* 3.149f.) and would easily fill a paper of their own. In the later Empire they became extremely ornate, and hours would be spent at a time with the hairdresser. One of the most favoured styles in Augustan times was that habitually worn by the Emperor's sister Octavia – ' . . . the central portion was combed forward and rolled to form a toupet over the centre of the forehead, before it was drawn back to join the other two sections at the back'.⁶ The Princess of Wales is not the first Dynastic figure to take a lead in setting fashions. It was later supplemented by a simpler style with a central parting.⁷ Since Roman girls grew their hair long, however, (Ovid *Am.* 1.14.4), great variation was possible.

A pale complexion, if not natural then artificial, was greatly admired, it being, along with blue eyes and golden hair, by no means universal in the Mediterranean world. Whiteners ranged from chalk⁸ and kaolin to more exotic substances like crocodile dung.⁹ White lead (*cerussa*) was also used.¹⁰

Rouge was then applied to a lady's cheeks. The Romans used *cinnabar* (red mercuric sulphide) (Pliny *Nat.* 33.118) or *minium* (red lead) (Pliny *Nat.* 33.119), despite being aware of the poisonous properties of both (Pliny *Nat.* 33.124), in preference to vegetable dyes.¹¹ Of these vegetable alternatives, most common was *fucus*, a lichen.¹² The Greeks also used ruddle (red ochre), sea-weed and mulberry juice.

Once decorated thus, the Roman lady would then apply herself to details. Eyebrows first: like the Greeks before them, the Romans considered it attractive for a woman's eyebrows to meet in the middle. If need be, nature could again be helped by artificial colouring. Pliny suggests bear-fat and lamp-black for the purpose (*Nat.* 28.163). Otherwise squashed flies would do (*Nat.* 30.134). Tertullian and Petronius mention soot.¹³ Not content with this, a woman would also blacken her eyelids, just inside the eyelashes, to give a bold outline (Courtney at *Juv.* 2.93-4). According to Ovid, saffron was used in eye-lining (*calliblepharon*) too (*Ars* 3.204).

² A. Maiuri, *Roman Painting*, 1953, p.7 – Venus on her sea shell; from Pompeii, Region II, Ins.6, No.3.

³ For further comparison, one might turn to the works of Chaucer, e.g. the description (presumably) of Blanche, first wife of John of Gaunt, in *The Book of the Duchess*, 815f. (Robinson² p.275); cf. also D.S. Brewer, 'Ideals of feminine beauty in Mediaeval literature, especially the Harley Lyrics, Chaucer and some Elizabethans', *Modern Language Review*, vol. L, no. 3, July 1955.

⁴ Cf. P. Green, *AJPh* 100 (1979), p.391, n.86.

⁵ Mart. 5.68; 14.26; Ovid *Am.* 1.14.45. It is ironic that the best hair for wigs is now thought to come from Southern Italy (*the Independent Magazine* 1st April 1989), and is therefore imported by the Teutonic north.

⁶ Balsdon p.256, drawing on *RE* VII.2135,.53f.; cf. the bust of Livia Drusilla in the Liverpool museum.

⁷ Balsdon and *RE* ibid..

⁸ Hor. *Epd.* 12.10; Mart. 8.33.17; 2.41.11; 6.93.9.

⁹ Hor. *Epd.* 12.11; cf. generally Forbes vol. III, pp.39-40.

¹⁰ Ovid *Med.* 73; Mart. 1.72.6; 2.41.12; Pliny *Nat.* 34.176. Lead continued to be used for cosmetic purposes, despite disastrous results, well into modern times – Williams, index s.v. 'lead'.

¹¹ Forbes vol III, p.39.

¹² Cf. Plaut. *Most.* 275; Prop. 2.18.31; Pliny *Nat.* 31.19.

¹³ Tert. *de cult. fem.* 1.2; 2.5; Petron. 126.15; cf. Ovid *Ars* 3.203 – ash.

Just as in comparatively recent times women used beauty spots to heighten by contrast the charm of some neighbouring feature,¹⁴ so too in Antiquity. Ovid speaks of the *aluta* (*Ars* 3.202), a leather patch treated with alum, which served the same function. Similar was the *splenium*, a patch used for concealing blemishes.¹⁵

Dentistry was not advanced in Rome, and toothache was a common complaint.¹⁶ Even the Emperor Augustus had bad teeth (Suet. *Aug.* 79). A woman with large or crooked teeth was unfortunate.¹⁷ Decayed teeth would be replaced with false ones of ivory or boxwood,¹⁸ but it was obviously better to look after one's natural set. Teeth were cleaned in the morning¹⁹ and were either washed or cleaned with dentifrice,²⁰ a powder which might comprise such exotic ingredients as the ash from a wolf's head or pigs' trotters (Pliny *Nat.* 28.178f.). Toothpicks were commonly used.²¹

While speaking of oral hygiene, bad breath was a decided disadvantage for a woman seeking to allure,²² and the Elder Pliny gives remedies for halitosis.²³ Hunger was thought a chief cause, and females prone to smelly breath are therefore warned by Ovid never to whisper sweet nothings on empty stomachs (*Ars* 3.277).

It seems probable that Roman women coloured their lips, although no reference is made to this, so far as I know, in extant literature.²⁴ But this was certainly the case in Egypt.²⁵

Even if naturally well endowed and carefully made up, however, a man-hungry Roman female might still be thwarted by Nature: if the rain did not make her make-up run, it was likely that perspiration would. The sight of a woman with a streaky face is commonly ridiculed by the poets.²⁶ Of course, such dangers might be avoided by staying at home, but one would not then encounter any men. Life without water-proof cosmetics was extremely hard.

Small breasts with sloping shoulders and a graceful neck were most admired. The poet Martial required that each breast fit comfortably in a cupped hand.²⁷ Certainly a soap-opera cleavage was not desirable and vigorous efforts were made, using strapping of various kinds, to prevent excessive growth initially,²⁸ and then for restraint.²⁹

Breasts could also be too small, however. Similar strapping, now applied beneath rather than above, was used to give uplift.³⁰

In a hot climate, axillary perspiration posed a real problem to young ladies intent on making a good impression: sweaty armpits were a decided sexual turn-off. The Elder Pliny gives recipes for underarm deodorants using the iris (*Nat.* 21.142), and alum (*Nat.* 35.185).

¹⁴ Williams, index s.v. 'beauty spot'.

¹⁵ Mart. 2.29.9; 10.22.1; 8.33.22; Pliny *Ep.* 6.2.2; Blümner pp.436-7; D.S s.v. *splenium*, p.1440.

¹⁶ Paoli p.211.

¹⁷ Ovid *Ars* 3.279-80; *Rem.* 339.

¹⁸ Mart. 2.41.7; 12.23; cf. also 14.56.2.

¹⁹ Catull. 13.18-19; Ovid *Ars* 3.198.

²⁰ Catul. loc. cit.; Mart. 14.56. Oral hygiene and dental care remained much the same even in Elizabethan times – Williams pp.13, 90.

²¹ Mart. 14.22; 7.53.3; Petron. 33.1; Pliny *Nat* 30.27.

²² Petron. 128.1; Ovid *Ars* 3.277-8.

²³ Pliny *Nat* 28.178; 190; 194.

²⁴ Cf. Balsdon p.262.

²⁵ Forbes vol.III, fig.3, p.19.

²⁶ Greg. Naz. *Gyn. Call.* 25f.; Mart. 2.41.11-12.

²⁷ Mart. 14.134; cf. 14.149. Brown cites further references to large breasts regarded as flaws at Lucr. 4.1168 *mammosa*.

²⁸ Ter. *Eun.* 313f.; Nonius 538.7M..

²⁹ Ovid *Rem.* 337f.; Hieron *Ep.* 11.7 p.957M.; Mart. 14.134.1.

³⁰ Cf. the Venus in the Florence Museum (Galler. di Firenze 1.27 = D.S. fig.2879). For the Roman bra – *fascia pectoralis / strophium / taenia / mamillare* – in general, see *RE* VI.2007; D.S. s.v. *fascia*, pp.980f.; cf. Blümner pp.230f..

Since a Roman woman's arms were generally covered by her clothing,³¹ attention was focused particularly on her hands, especially as Italian conversation then, as now, seems to have been characterised by much gesticulation³² – a source of danger for the girl with fat fingers³³ or bad nails (Ovid *Ars* 3.376). Although there was little one could do about the former besides avoiding gestures, there were certain forms of manicure available – Quintilian, for instance, speaks of nail-polishing (*Inst.8* pr.22).

Bulging tummies (witness Botticelli) were in vogue.³⁴ These would generally, one imagines, accompany well-padded posteriors. The Greek poet Semonides faults a woman for being *dmuyos* (fr.7.76 West), while Hesiod warns impressionable farmers not to be taken in by the pygostolic charms of hungry females (*Op.373-4*). Given that the Romans generally adopted Greek attitudes in physical matters,³⁵ Ovid shows somewhat greater discernment in remarking that while swaying hips and a skirt blowing in the wind might attract, going to extremes could repel (*Ars* 3.301).

This is not to say that the Ancients liked obesity. But they preferred women who were not overly thin, and those who were well advised to wear loose-flowing clothing (Ovid *Ars* 3.267-8).

In Athenian times, an unintended pubic patch would have occasioned some disgust; Lucian Freud's paintings would probably not have appealed to Romans either. Pubic hair was generally singed.³⁶

Unshaven legs too were guaranteed to repel (Ovid *Ars* 3.194). Methods of depilation included plucking (Suet. *Jul.45*) and the use of pumice stones.³⁷ The Elder Pliny speaks of a method employing a resin-like pitch³⁸ – compare waxing legs today. According to Suetonius, the effeminate emperor Otho tried moist bread in attempting to curb his facial growth (*Otho* 12). It is possible that women might have used something similar on their legs.

The Roman male had an eye for long legs generally,³⁹ and if fine they might profitably be flaunted. But shrivelled and spindly examples could only offend, and were best kept covered by puttee-like *fascia crurales*.⁴⁰ Further, it would not do for them to be too short. Attractive Roman women were tall (Catull. 86.1). Those '... so dwarfish and so low' as not to qualify had to resort to sitting, or lying with their legs covered, to conceal their defectiveness (Ovid *Ars* 3.263f.). As for feet, if these were not small and dainty, they were flaws to be concealed by attractive and delicate footwear (Ovid *Ars* 3.271).

A woman who emerged favourably when judged by these criteria would be considered beautiful. But appearances on their own were not enough, at any rate not for the love elegists:⁴¹ the Roman demi-mondaine had other qualities too, important enough, in fact, to outweigh minor physical defects. These, while possibly material for a further paper, cannot be dealt with here, save only to say that the true Roman beauty had not only looks, but was well read and spoken, of good deportment, and was in possession of such talents as singing and dancing as well.

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³¹ Uncovered (upper) arms had therefore great erotic effect. For the sexual appeal of arms, see Ovid *Ars* 1.498; 3.307-8; *Met.* 1.500-501.

³² For a detailed study of which see Carl Sittl, *Die Gebördern der Griechen und Romern*, Leipzig 1890.

³³ For short (and therefore fat?) fingers, Catull. 43.3. The virtue of thin fingers emerges at Ovid *ARS* 1.621f.; cf. Cynthia's *longae... manus* – Prop.2.2.5.

³⁴ But not flabby ones – Ovid *Am.* 1.5.21.

³⁵ Cf. J.Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life*, Duckworth 1985, p.10.

³⁶ See Henderson at Aristoph. *Lys.* 87-9 and index s.v. 'depilation' for comment and reference to further literature.

³⁷ Ovid *Ars* 1.506; Pliny *Ep.* 2.11.23.

³⁸ Pliny *Nat.* 14.123; 29.26.

³⁹ Ovid *Ars* 1.155-6; *Am* 3.2.27.

⁴⁰ D.S. s.v. *fascia* p.981.

⁴¹ Ovid *Ars* 3.280f.; Catull. 86.

Review: **D. F. Petch** (Liverpool)Gordon Maxwell, *A Battle Lost: Romans and Caledonians at Mons Graupius*, Edinburgh U.P. 1989. Pp.x +138 Cloth, £14.95.*LCM* 15.10 (Dec. 1990), 156-158

ISBN 0-85224-440-8 & 6145-3 (pbk).

It is salutary to recall that in the relatively short period since the 12th Congress of Roman Frontier Studies was held at Stirling in 1979 our knowledge of Roman Scotland has advanced significantly. The very important work on the legionary fortress at Inchtuthil has now been published (Pitts & St Joseph, 1985), whilst the long-running excavations at the fort of Strageath have been promptly reported (Frere & Wilkins, 1989). A major source of new data on Roman military sites in Scotland has been the annual programme of research and photography from the air (Maxwell & Wilson, 1987), both in terms of identifying new sites (as, for example, the fort and camp at Inverquaharity, Angus), and in enhancing our understanding of sites previously known; Maxwell's own contribution in this respect, as part of his work for the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, has been of great significance. Unusually, for Roman Britain we are fortunate in possessing, in Tacitus' life of Agricola, a substantial work offering literary evidence pertaining to the Flavian period of conquest in Scotland, and Dr W. S. Hanson has recently reviewed, in his *Agricola and the Conquest of the North*, Tacitus' account of Agricola's achievements in the light of present understanding of the archaeological evidence. The culmination of Agricola's campaigns was the battle of Mons Graupius, and Tacitus gives it great prominence in the *Agricola*: we now have from Gordon Maxwell a masterly discussion of Agricola's crowning victory at the close of his seventh campaign, and in the final year of his governorship.

It must be said at the outset that, despite the attention given to this fascinating topic over the years, Maxwell's study makes it clear that the site of Mons Graupius still remains to be found, and indeed may never be identified, for Tacitus' description of Agricola's sixth and seventh campaigns is too vague and imprecise even to resolve the basic question as to where, in North-East Scotland, the Romans were operating. Modern thought favours a site for the battle somewhere between Tay and Spey, a large enough area in all conscience, offering a wide variety of possible locations. Within the region thus defined a number of temporary or 'marching' camps are known, and one line of enquiry has been to attempt to relate the various types and sizes of camps to the documented campaigns of the Flavian and Severan periods, admittedly with only limited success. On the basis of such analysis Professor J. K. St Joseph has identified the site of Mons Graupius as being on the slopes of Bennachie (Aberdeenshire), not far from an exceptionally large temporary camp at Logie Durno (St Joseph, 1978a). This, the latest in a number of proposed sites, has found some favour, although after considering St Joseph's arguments Maxwell is not led to concur in his conclusion: the scale of the battleground is too vast for armies operating before the introduction of fire arms and cannon, quite apart from lesser blemishes, such as the failure of Tacitus to mention that the river Urie ran between Roman camp and battlefield.

It is fair to conclude that we still do not know where the battle of Mons Graupius was fought. Whilst not himself committed to a specific battle site, Maxwell makes a number of pertinent comments on its location, among them the suggestion that the naming of a Roman site in Scotland north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus *Victoria* offers a clue which merits careful consideration. This name is more likely to have derived from Agricola's principal victory than from a less significant battle, and it should be added that the attribution of the name to Inchtuthil on the basis of its putative garrison (*Legio XX Valeria Victrix*, see Rivet & Smith, 1979, 128 and 499) has now been contested (Pitts & St Joseph, 1985, 201). There is every reason to suppose that such a name would have been attached to a permanent fortress or camp, rather than to a temporary camp, and if Richmond's identification of Inchtuthil as *Pinnata Castra* is accepted, it follows that *Victoria* must have been one or other of the forts of Strathmore, the north-easternmost fort presently known being Stracathro, a little beyond Brechin. On the reasonable assumption that fort and battle site would not have been a great distance apart, the choice of location is immediately much reduced: Maxwell's own preference is for a site

towards the north-eastern end of Strathmore, or in the adjacent Howe of the Mearns, one likely location being in the vicinity of Stracathro and Edzell. Infected by the spirit of this fascinating game, it is tempting to put forward as a possible candidate for Mons Graupius the prominent (and massively defended) White Caterthun, just four miles from Stracathro – were it not for the presence a mere half-mile away of the almost equally imposing Brown Caterthun and its attendant complex earthworks.

Be that as it may, the Roman army evidently took the coastal route to Stonehaven and beyond, and a hostile force crossing by the Cairn o' Mount route from Deeside might pose a considerable threat to its rear. Tacitus' account makes it clear that towards the end of the campaigning season Agricola fought the Caledonii on ground of *their* choosing. He does not explain why the battle took place late in the year, or what happened previously, but it seems possible that much time had been taken up with marching and counter-marching, perhaps in large part beyond the Mounth, in pursuit of an elusive enemy able to score small but irritating local successes against the Roman army. These would have buoyed up Caledonian morale, whilst sapping the energy and resources of the Romans, who were operating over unfamiliar and often difficult terrain. With hindsight it is possible to conclude that Calgacus' decision to stand and fight was a gamble doomed to failure, but it may be doubted whether the outcome looked quite so certain to either side on the eve of the battle.

Maxwell's somewhat ambiguous title raises the issue of who, in the longer term, lost – and who won. Of the immediate outcome of the battle there is no doubt, and the Caledonii paid heavily for their reverse in lives and suffering. At an early stage in his book the author poses the question whether a study of the battle of Mons Graupius on this scale (138pp.) can be justified. The answer in part lies in the significance Agricola's campaigns have for the history of Roman Britain. Whilst his exceptionally long governorship enlarged the province by perhaps as much as a third, Rome never succeeded in imposing its authority beyond the Mounth, and only intermittently did so north of Cheviot and Solway. In Strathmore expansion of the province finally came to a halt, the frontier on the North Esk being the high water mark of the tide of conquest, never again to be achieved. It may also be noted that, whilst Mons Graupius may have seemed a minor battle of no great importance when viewed from Rome, it has a significant part in Scotland's history, and its effects can still be discerned today. Maxwell, long concerned with Romano-British studies, but equally claiming 'nominal descent . . . from those barbarians' (the Caledonii) reveals his sympathies most clearly in his final paragraph: ' . . . it is surely to the gallant defenders of North British independence that we owe the ongoing search [for the battlefield].'

It must by now be clear that Maxwell's book is more comprehensive in its content than the title suggests, for he considers all aspects of evidence bearing on the battle and the campaigns leading up to it. Thus he provides a summary of present knowledge of the native peoples of North-east Scotland at this period, many of whose settlements are now being identified as a result of air photography. Tacitus' life of Agricola, surely incorporating evidence derived at first hand from the subject himself, naturally commands a good deal of attention. For those who, like Maxwell, have had to track Agricola 'through the brakes and brambles of Tacitean prose' the translation he offers of *Agricola* 25-17 and 29-39 is of great interest, as are his comments on other passages.

Some of the long-standing related problems are re-examined, for example the chronology of Agricola's governorship of Britain. Could Agricola have begun his term of office as early as A.D. 77, completing his second term in A.D. 84? Maxwell concludes that this is both possible and desirable, for there are hints that the fortress, forts, fortlets and watch-towers in the region from the Forth to the North Esk represent an evolving frontier system in which the various elements are not always reconcileable. At Cargill, for instance, there is both a fort and a fortlet which are hardly likely to be contemporary, neither of which is more than three miles from the fortress at Inchtuthil. It is also significant that the fort at Strageath, Cargill, and perhaps Cargean, have a more complex building history than the postulated short Flavian occupation to c. A.D. 87 would seem to permit. It might be more satisfactory to adopt a

chronology in which Inchtuthil had been barely begun when Agricola quitted Britain, leaving to his successor the task of consolidating the Roman hold on Strathmore, and then of mounting at least one expedition beyond the Mounth. In this context Maxwell suggests that a series of large camps from Raedykes to Muiryfold, of a size not found south of Stonehaven, may belong to post-Agricolan campaigns of that unknown governor.

This is an attractive theory, for which some direct evidence would be welcome; all that can be said at present is that the 50 hectare camp at Ythan Wells in part overlies a smaller 14 hectare camp with Stracathro-type gates, a type generally accepted as being Flavian in date. Only one other camp with gates of this type is known north of the Mounth, at Auchinhove, and it may be that these two camps result from an Agicolan foray into Mar and beyond, perhaps as far as the Moray Firth. Tacitus makes no reference to Agricola's successor, but it is unwise to presume therefore that there was no military activity to report. On the other hand, had this governor immediately abandoned a large part of Agricola's conquests in Scotland this would surely have prompted adverse comment. In point of fact Tacitus remarked (*Histories* 1.2) *perdomita Britannia et statim omissa*, at present generally interpreted as meaning that there was a phased withdrawal from Scotland, the territory beyond the Forth-Clyde isthmus being quite rapidly abandoned. Maxwell, however, reminds us that there is another possible interpretation, that Britain was neglected or, as might now be said, 'put on the back burner', rather than 'abandoned' or 'let go', the sense more commonly accepted today. If serious campaigning took place beyond the Mounth in the post-Agricolan period it seems possible that forts still await discovery in the Mearns and beyond, although diligent search has failed to reveal any, save for the site reported as Cawdor (Nairn) (*Britannia* 18-20), which is strangely distant from the nearest fort at Stracathro.

In summary, therefore, this is a book which can be recommended unequivocally to the ancient historian or archaeologist. It offers stimulating new insights into the campaigns of Agricola beyond Forth and Clyde, and succeeds in combining the disparate strands of evidence insofar as they can at present be reconciled. Where they cannot Maxwell presents the evidence in a fair and impartial manner, enabling the reader to make up his own mind. Written in a characteristically lucid and easy style, *A Battle Lost* will give any reader, from undergraduate level onwards, food for thought. It contains a good bibliography, and there are a number of useful illustrations, although a minor (perhaps unjustifiable) quibble is that the symbols used for different categories of camps, forts and so on can be confused. Gordon Maxwell has also recently published *The Romans in Scotland*, which covers a wider canvas: I look forward to reading [and hopefully also reviewing Ed.] it with the keenest anticipation.

Postscript.

Seekers for the site of Mons Graupius have generally assumed, quite naturally, that the hill in question was a prominent one. This need not necessarily be so: the possible derivation of the name from a Celtic word meaning 'hump' may suggest otherwise, and it is an observable fact that many a bitterly-contested eminence proves, when viewed after the battle, hardly to deserve to be called a hill. One feature of the battle of Mons Graupius to which Maxwell calls attention is the important role played by the cavalry. Steep, rocky or broken ground does not favour the use of mounted men, and this is indeed one of the reasons for rejecting the Bennachie/Durno identification. If this train of thought has any validity our only hope of identifying the battlefield site may lie in finding, and subsequently excavating, the graves into which the dead (and it is to be hoped, some of their gear) were placed.

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M. Heath (Leeds): *Thucydides' political judgement*

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After reporting the death of Pericles Thucydides gives an assessment of his leadership, adding by way of contrast some comments on the situation which developed in Athens subsequently (2.65.7-13). These comments provide an analysis of Athens' defeat in the war which many scholars have found hard

to reconcile with Thucydides' own narrative. One recent commentator sets out the problem thus¹: 'Here Thucydides seems to trace Athenian defeat to a single cause, a lack of unity which began after Pericles' death... This single explanation is open to a variety of objections: the great victory of Sphacteria (4.31-41) was won after Pericles' death; according to Thucydides' own account of the expedition to Sicily, the witch-hunts which led to the recall of Alcibiades (6.60-1) did not in themselves contribute greatly to the disaster; and the years of Athens' worst internal discord (411-407), were also years of great military success'.

Dover observes that the passage contains no hint 'that the critical moment in the defeat of Athens was a single great naval battle in the Hellespont, won by a talented Spartan commander over the fleet which had itself achieved a great naval victory at Arginousai the previous summer', and remarks that throughout the chapter Thucydides 'pursues relentlessly the theme of political disunity in the post-Periclean period, and by its end the theme had distorted his judgment'². How are we to explain this preoccupation, with its distorting influence?

Four closely related points stand out in Thucydides' analysis: (i) Pericles' successors pursued projects which would bring honour and profit to the individual if they succeeded, but which would damage the city's war-effort if they failed; they did this out of private ambition and for private gain; (ii) Pericles' unique position meant that he could speak his mind to the people; his successors, because they were competing with each other for political influence, had to say what the people wanted to hear; (iii) the Sicilian expedition was defeated primarily because the Athenians at home did not provide adequate support to those in the field; this was a result of private quarrels in pursuit of political preeminence; (iv) even after the defeat in Sicily, Athens contrived to hold out against an apparently overwhelming coalition of opposing forces, until internal dissensions brought it down; in other words, the city defeated itself.

Each of these points can be paralleled in fourth-century political oratory. An instructive illustration can be found in Demosthenes 4, the *First Philippic*. Demosthenes begins this speech by drawing two conclusions from the difficulties in which the Athenians find themselves in their war against Philip. First, he uses the situation to discredit his opponents. If they had given the right advice, the issue would not have to be debated again; the very fact that the question has come up shows that 'the usual people' have been misleading the assembly. But – secondly – this is a source of encouragement. If the reason for Athens' difficulties is that they have been doing the wrong things, then clearly if they start doing the right things, their problems will be over. This encouraging thought provides one side of an equivocal presentation of Philip: on the one hand he is a model of energy and enterprise, and the Athenians should try to emulate him; on the other his successes are due to Athenian negligence, and he is not really so formidable an opponent. These points are made in the opening section of the speech (1-12). Later in the speech Demosthenes takes up the attack on his opponents with which he began (44-7). He imagines a heckler asking what opening there is for an attack on Philip, and replies that a way will be found if the effort is made; but the Athenians will get nowhere if they just sit at home listening to the politicians insulting each other and exchanging recriminations. At once Demosthenes goes on to stress the importance of supporting the commanders in the field: there is no point, he says, sending out a general equipped with nothing but a mandate and the hopes expressed on the speaker's platform; they must be given adequate resources. This juxtaposition is surely significant: it is implied that the political rivalries mentioned are to blame for the failure to give support. What Demosthenes says about generals dispatched with a mandate and wishful thinking is clearly mocking in tone, and Demosthenes' approach to his audience is aggressively satirical at various other points in the speech: consider his mocking mimicry of Athenian gossip (10-11), his description of the phoney war (25-6), or the famous comparison of Athens with a barbarian boxer, who always defends himself where he has just been hit (40).

¹ J.S.Rusten, *Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, Book II* (Cambridge 1989), 212. See further A. W. Gomme *JHS* 71(1951), 70-80 = *More Essays in Greek History and Literature* (Oxford 1962), 92-111, and *HCT* II 191-2, 195-6; P.A.Brunt *REG* 65(1952), 59-96, H.D.Westlake *CQ* 52(1958), 102-10 = *Essays on the Greek Historians and Greek History* (Manchester 1969), 161-73; E. Lévy, *Athènes devant la défaite de 404* (BEFAR 225, Paris 1976), 37-9. Thucydides' judgement on Sicily is defended by W.Liebeschutz *Historia* 17(1968), 289-306, W.E.Thompson *Historia* 20(1971), 141-51; but see most recently K. J. Dover *HCTV* 423-7, and *op.cit.* (n.2).

² K .J. Dover *PRIA* 81(1981), 237; the present note pursues the aim stated on p.283: 'It is for us... to render his irrationalities intelligible.'

At the very end of the speech Demosthenes makes explicit the *ethos*, or rhetorical persona, which this satire has implied, and claims credit for it 51, cf. 38). He says that he has never spoken just to please his audience (*πρὸς χάριν*): he always speaks his mind frankly; and that is because his sole concern is with the interests of the city – he does not count the possible cost to himself.³ The implication is that his opponents, the politicians whose squabbles are distracting from the war-effort, tell the assembly just what it wants to hear, because they are more concerned with their own advancement than with the city's welfare.

In sum, Demosthenes portrays Athens as a city that is being defeated by her own mistakes rather than by her enemy's strengths; this is at least in part because the Athenians are failing to give adequate support to their commanders in the field, which is in turn due to political conflicts within the city; the politicians involved in these conflicts are merely flattering the people, and have their own personal advancement in view rather than the public good. This portrait exactly matches that found in Thucydides 2.65.

Other parallels can be cited: (i) private gain *v s* public interest: Dem.3.26, 29; 5.12; 8.53 (bribery), 66, 71; 9.2; Isocr.8.124-8; 12.140; (ii) flattery *v s παρηγόλα*: Dem.1.16; 3.3, 12-13, 21-6, 32; 6.5, 27, 31; 8.34, 68-9; 9.3-4; Aesch.2.177; Isocr.8.3-5; 9-11; 12.140; (iii) political rivalries: Dem.2.25, 29-30; 5.3; 8.1, 69, 71; 9.2, 63-4; 19.298; Aesch.2.75, 176; Lys.2.65; cf. Thrasymachus DK 85B1; (iv) self-defeat: Dem.1.9; 2.4; 9.5; Lys.2.65; Plato *Menexenus* 243d. It seems legitimate to describe these motifs as commonplaces of fourth-century political oratory.

There is always the risk in using fourth-century evidence to throw light on Thucydides that rhetorical practice may have changed in the intervening period. In this case, however, the speeches in Thucydides offer some evidence that the motifs we have identified were at home in later fifth-century oratory.⁴ Pericles tells the Athenians that they have more reason to fear their own errors than the enemy (1.144.1), in this echoing the Corinthians (1.69.5). Cleon attacks speakers who strive to give pleasure and cause harm to the state while they themselves prosper (3.40.3), and those who are led by gain (*κέρδος*) to speak speciously, thus putting the city in danger while they reap the benefits (3.38.2-3; cf. 3.82.8); and he condemns the assembly's addiction to pleasing words (3.38.4-7, 40.2). Diodotus too refers to those who speak insincerely, indulging their audience in order to win prestige (3.42.6). Nicias claims that Alcibiades is seeking command with a view to recovering personal expenses at the risk of the state's loss (6.12.2; 6.15.3-4 seems to endorse this view of Alcibiades' motives). Outside Thucydides, there is an intriguing pre-echo of the *First Philippic* in the reply given in Aristophanes *Frogs* 1443-50 to the question, 'How can we save the city?': Demosthenes, as we have seen, argues that if the Athenians have been doing one thing and it has led to defeat, then doing something else will result in success; Aristophanes' Euripides argues that if the Athenians have been trusting one set of people and are in trouble, then trusting another set will be their salvation.

If the hypothesis of continuity in rhetorical practice is accepted, then it may help us to understand Thucydides' misleading preoccupation in 2.65. Thucydides was an Athenian *strategos*, a political as well as a military post. He was himself politically active, therefore, and it is reasonable to assume that contemporary political practice was a major formative influence on his thinking; that was where he had learnt to think politically.⁵ It is natural that he should look at and interpret events using those patterns of thought and explanation which political debate had made familiar to him.

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³ This is, of course, a pose: it seems from 5.2 that the assumption of critical outspokenness was a common tactic, and one which could win popular esteem; 21.202-4 shows how the pose could be undermined by an opposing speaker.

⁴ As, indeed, they would have been even earlier: most of our motifs are already present, explicitly or implicitly, in Theognis 39-52.

⁵ It is striking that Simon Hornblower's *Thucydides* (London 1987), which 'tries to put him in his fifth-century intellectual context as a whole, in all its inchoateness and variety' (p. viii), has virtually nothing to say about political practice, as distinct from political theory.